

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 195981

NODIS

FOR Z. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 13686 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 17 AUG 77

QUOTE S E C R E T CAIRO 13686

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EG, US

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP WITH FAHMY ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE
TO PRESIDENT SADAT

REF: STATE 194978

SUMMARY: PROVIDED FAHMY TODAY WITH CLARIFICATION CITED
REFTEL. HE WAS APPRECIATIVE, BUT INDICATED HE STILL
DOES NOT AGREE WITH OUR VIEW THAT UNIFIED ARAB
DELEGATION CONCEPT CAN BE SO STRUCTURED TO GOE'S
FLEXIBILITY WILL NOT BE MATERIALLY RESTRICTED.

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HE NEVERTHELESS PROFESSED HAVE OPEN MIND ON SUBJECT
AND WAS WILLING RECOMMEND IT TO SADAT IF THERE IS
REASONABLE ASSURANCE IT WILL LEAD TO PLO RPT PLO
PARTICIPATION IN SUCH DELEGATION. HE PROPOSED
SCENARIO WHEREBY, WHEN AND IF PLO ACCEPTS RESOLUTION
242 AND USG BEGINS OPEN DIALOGUE, TALKS BE SPUN OUT
FOR TWO OR THREE MONTHS WITH VIEW RECONVENING GENEVA

IN EITHER JANUARY OR FEBRUARY. THIS WILL ALLOW TIME
INDUCE GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN PLO POSITIONS AS WELL
AS TO MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR PLO
PARTICIPATION, SEPARATELY OR IN UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION,
AT GENEVA. ISRAEL WILL DOUBTLESS DIG ITS HEELS IN ON
PALESTINIAN ENTITY, BUT FAHMY SAW THIS AS PROBLEM WHICH
CAN BE FACED LATER. HE ASKED FOR YOUR
REACTION TO HIS PROPOSED SCENARIO (PARAS 5-6). ON ANOTHER SUBJECT,
FAHMY NOTED SADAT'S HOPE THAT DAYAN WILL BE ABLE
CONSTRUCTIVELY INFLUENCE BEGIN. THIS HOPE ARISES
FROM KREISKY'S RECENT EFFORTS PROMOTE SECRET ARAB/
ISRAELI DIALOGUE, TO INCLUDE DAYAN, AS MEANS OF
FACILITATING PEACE PROCESS. SADAT ACCEPTED IN
PRINCIPLE KREISKY'S PROPOSAL, BUT AUSTRIAN CHANCELLAR
HAS FOR TIME BEING DEFERRED FURTHER ACTION BECAUSE
OF WILLY BRANDT'S PROPOSAL FOR ARAB/ISRAELI CONFERENCE.
THIS GOE HAS REJECTED. FAHMY IS PERSONALLY SKEPTICAL
OF DAYAN'S ABILITY CHANGE BEGIN POSITIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. SINCE FAHMY DID NOT COME TO OFFICE TODAY, I MET
WITH HIM FOR HOUR AND HALF AT HIS APARTMENT TO CONVEY
CLARIFICATION SET FORTH REFTEL. IN CONTRAST YESTERDAY'S
MEETING, FAHMY WAS MUCH MORE RELAXED TODAY. FAHMY
NOTED THAT IN SENDING PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE TO
PRESIDENT SADAT IN ALEXANDRIA, HE HAD INDICATED THAT
HE HAD REQUESTED CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS, WHICH HE WOULD
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PASS ON AS SOON AS RECEIVED.

2. IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING, I FIRST
READ TO HIM PERTINENT SECTIONS OF REFTEL. FAHMY
EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR YOUR PROMPT RESPONSE AND
SOMEWHAT ABASHEDLY NOTED THAT HE DID NOT REALLY THINK
THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S REFERENCE TO A UNIFIED ARAB
DELEGATION HAD BEEN AN "ULTIMATUM." AS WE KNEW,
HOWEVER, THE UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION CONCEPT IS
WORRISOME TO SADAT AND TO HIM FOR REASONS OF WHICH
WE ARE AWARE. USG BELIEVES THAT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUS-
SIONS CAN BE CONDUCTED IN SUB-COMMITTEES IN A MANNER
WHICH WILL NOT MATERIALLY RESTRICT EGYPTIAN FLEXIBILITY.
SADAT AND HE BELIEVE US VIEW IS WRONG AND THAT A
UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WILL DO SO. SYRIA AND JORDAN
ARE CERTAIN TO INSIST UPON FUNCTIONAL SUB-COMMITTEES,
WHICH WILL MEAN THEY HAVE A VOICE IN ALL MATTERS
PERTAINING TO WITHDRAWAL, CONCESSIONS, DEMILITARIZED
ZONES, ETC. THEY WILL USE THAT VOICE TO "TIE SADAT'S HANDS."

3. NEVERTHELESS, FAHMY WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT HE HAS
AN OPEN MIND ON THE SUBJECT. IF ISRAEL WILL NOT ACCEPT

AN INDEPENDENT PLO DELEGATION, AS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR, HE, FAHMY, WOULD BE WILLING TO RECOMMEND TO SADAT THAT THE PRESIDENT CONSIDER A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION IF RPT IF THE PLO IS ACCEPTED AS A MEMBER OF THAT DELEGATION. WHILE NOTING POINT THAT WE CANNOT UNILATERALLY ARRANGE FOR PLO REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA, SINCE THIS WILL REQUIRE THE AGREEMENT OF ALL ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS, FAHMY STATED ARAB STATES AND SOVIET UNION HAVE ALREADY MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WANT THE PLO TO PARTICIPATE. IF PLO ACCEPTS OUR PROPOSED FORMULA ON UN RESOLUTION 242 AND WE ENTER INTO AN OPEN AND OFFICIAL DIALOGUE WITH PLO, HE THOUGHT THIS SHOULD SURELY MEAN THAT USG SHOULD ENDORSE PLO PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA. HE REMAINED TROUBLED, HOWEVER, THAT OUR CLARIFICATION SPEAKS OF ENGAGING IN AN OFFICIAL DIALOGUE WITH PLO, YET REFERS ONLY GENERALLY TO QUESTION OF "PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION."

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4. SO FAR AS GOE IS CONCERNED, FAHMY STATED, THERE CAN BE NO PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION UNLESS IT IS THE PLO. HUSSEIN AND THE ISRAELIS MAY OPPOSE PLO PARTICIPATION, BUT HUSSEIN IS NOT IMPORTANT IN THIS MATTER. GOE, SARG AND SAG ARE ALL AGREED THAT, IN ABSENCE OF SOME CHANGE OF RABAT DECISION, WHICH IS UNLIKELY, PLO REPRESENTS THE PALESTINIANS AND SOME WAY MUST BE FOUND FOR IT TO PARTICIPATE AT GENEVA. ONLY IF PLO LEADERSHIP CAN BE ASSURED THAT PLO WILL BE REPRESENTED AT GENEVA, IF NOT INDEPENDENTLY, THEN IN UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, CAN ARAFAT AND HIS COLLEAGUES BE PRESSURED TO ACCEPT 242.

5. THINKING OUT LOUD, FAHMY THEN SAID HE WANTED TO PROPOSE A SCENARIO TO YOU SOMETHING LIKE THIS: GOE, SAUDIS AND OTHERS WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS PRESS PLO TO ACCPET PUBLICLY UN RESOLUTION 242 WITH RESERVATION RE REFUGEE ASPECTS; WHEN AND IF PLO DOES SO, USG WILL ENTER INTO OPEN AND OFFICIAL DIALOGUE WITH PLO, PURPOSE OF WHICH WOULD BE TO REASSURE PLO DIRECTLY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL WORK FOR A PALESTINIAN ENTITY IN RETURN FOR ASSURANCES THAT PLO RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST; THIS DIALOGUE MIGHT BE CONDUCTED FOR TWO OR THREE MONTHS AS A PRELUDE TO GENEVA; SOMEWHERE AROUND JANUARY OR FEBRUARY, GENEVA MIGHT BE RECONVENED, PREFERABLY WITH AN INDEPENDENT PLO DELEGATION OR, IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, WITH A UNITED ARAB DELEGATION INCLUDING THE PLO.

6. FAHMY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ISRAEL WILL OBJECT TO ANY PLO PARTICIPATION, BUT SPECULATED THAT THIS OBJECTION COULD BE OVERCOME. ONCE USG HAS ENTERED INTO DIALOGUE WITH PLO, AND IF LATTER BEHAVES SENSIBLY, THERE WILL

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BE WORLDWIDE APPLAUSE FOR WHAT IS TAKING PLACE. EUROPEANS, AFRICANS, ARABS, ASIANS, AND EVEN SOVIETS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS, WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT THEY VIEW THE USG/PLO DIALOGUE AS FACILITATING PLO PARTICIPATION IN GENEVA. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, ISRAEL WILL FIND ITSELF ISOLATED ON SQV WILL EVENTUALLY COME AROUND TO ACCEPTING PLO AS PART OF A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION. HOWEVER, WHEN IT COMES TO SUBSTANTIVE TALKS AT GENEVA, FAHMY THOUGHT ISRAELIS WILL DIG IN THEIR HEELS AGAINST ANY PALESTINIAN ENTITY. THIS WILL HAVE TO BE HANDLED IN DUE COURSE; MORE IMMEDIATE QUESTION TO GOE AND OTHER ARABS IS INSURING THAT PLO PARTICIPATES AT GENEVA.

7. FAHMY NOTED OUR STATEMENT THAT ONCE PLO HAS ACCEPTED 242 AND WE HAVE ESTABLISHED CONTACTS WITH IT, OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION FOR PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION QUESTION WILL BE ENHANCED. IF THIS MEANS THAT WE WILL PRESS FOR PLO PARTICIPATION IN CONTEXT OF THE DIALOGUE WE PROPOSE, I WYDMTSZHERS # CAN APPROPRIATELY URGE PLO LEADERSHIP TAKE THE RISK. OTHERWISE, THERE IS NO PURPOSE TO SUCH A DIALOGUE. HE, FAHMY, WAS PREPARED TO TAKE US AT OUR WORD, BUT HE WOULD FEEL EASIER IF HE COULD BE SURE THAT WHEN WE SPEAK OF "PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION," WE ARE THINKING OF WAYS AND MEANS TO GET PLO INTO THE ACT. I AGAIN REMINDED HIM THAT WE CANNOT GUARANTEE THE RESULTS IN ADVANCE, BUT BELIEVE THAT IF PLO ACTS SENSIBLY AND ACCEPTS 242 AND ENTERS INTO OFFICIAL DIALOGUE WITH US, IT WILL GIVE US SOMETHING TO WORK WITH IN OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A MUTUALLY AGREED FORMULA FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION.

8. SPEAKING IN MORE GENERAL TERMS, FAHMY THEN NOTED THAT, APART FROM COMPLETE CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT CARTER AND YOU, SADAT'S PRINCIPAL HOPE IS THAT DAYAN
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WILL ULTIMATELY BE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON BEGIN'S PART. IN THIS CONNECTION, FAHMY RECALLED THAT AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR KREISKY HAD SHORT TIME AGO PROPOSED TO SADAT THAT THERE BE SOME SECRET MEETINGS OF SENIOR ARAB AND ISRAELI LEADERS TO TRY TO FACILITATE PEACE EFFORT. KREISKY HAD OFFERED TO USE HIS GOOD OFFICES FOR THIS PURPOSE. SADAT ACCEPTED

KREISKY'S PROPOSAL, IN PRINCIPLE, BUT THE AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR HAS OF LATE DONE NOTHING FURTHER ABOUT THE IDEA. INSTEAD, HE HAS SUPPORTED WILLY BRANDT'S IDEA OF AN ARAB/ISRAEL CONFERENCE. THIS GOE HAS REJECTED. IN ANY EVENT, KREISKY, WHO HAD EARLIER "DESPISED" DAYAN, IS NOW SPEAKING GLOWINGLY OF THE ISRAELI FORMER. THIS, IN FAHMY'S VIEW, ACCOUNTS FOR SADAT'S BELIEF THAT DAYAN'S INFLUENCE WILL BE HELPFUL. FAHMY EXPRESSED PERSONAL DOUBT THAT THE ISRAELI SYSTEM, WHICH STRESSES CABINET COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY, WILL ENABLE DAYAN TO HAVE ANY SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE IN CHANGING THE VIEWS OF HIS IDEOLOGUE CHIEF, BEGIN. IN ANY CASE, GOE IS STILL WAITING FOR FURTHER WORD FROM KREISKY.

9. AS I WAS LEAVING, FAHMY ASKED THAT I SEEK YOUR REACTION TO HIS PROPOSED SCENARIO (PARA 5 - 6 ABOVE), WHICH HE BELIEVES IS THE ONLY PRACTICAL WAY TO PROCEED IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.
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UNQUOTE VANCE

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